

JPRS 78734

12 August 1981

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1909



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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SOVIET USE OF WARSAW PACT SPECIALISTS IN AFGHANISTAN REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Jul 81 p 3

["fy" report, datelined Bonn, 22 July: "GDR Specialists Also in Afghanistan"]

[Text] The GDR, Czechoslovakia, as well as Cuba and Bulgaria, are taking part in the Soviet Union's military occupation of Afghanistan. According to reliable sources from Bonn, at present there are slightly over 80,000 troops of the Soviet invasion force in Afghanistan. The Soviet troops are supported by small GDR, CSSR, Cuban and Bulgarian contingents which, their size notwithstanding, are performing important functions. This is especially true with the GDR contingent.

The 200 Cuban specialists in guerrilla warfare operate in the remote Central Asian highlands as advisers and instructors of troops combating the Afghan freedom fighters. The 30 technicians representing the Czech army perform maintenance work for the Soviet tanks, while the Bulgarian soldiers, whose number is not known, are mainly used as drivers of military vehicles.

The GDR's involvement, on the other hand, is much more diverse. The GDR has provided field hospitals and other mobile medical units in Afghanistan, and has sent there experts--the number is not known exactly--who are working alongside Soviet specialists in setting up the Afghan intelligence and security services. GDR advisers and instructors are also engaged in developing the Afghan police. The Soviets' choice of the Warsaw Pact countries participating in the occupation of Afghanistan is regarded in Bonn as an indication of the Soviets' assessment of their allies' reliability and of the discrepancies currently existing in the solidarity to Moscow among the East bloc countries. According to available information, neither Poland nor Hungary nor Romania are participating in the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The same holds true for Vietnam and North Korea.

CSO: 2300/269



## CULTURAL LIFE IN SOFIA RECEIVES NEGATIVE EVALUATION

Sofia SOFIA in Bulgarian No 5, 1981 pp 13-15

[Cultural Evaluation by Kalin Todorov and Panayot Denev: "What Do You Prefer-- Motion Picture, Theater, Concert, Exhibition?"]

[Text] Culture and the big city. The topic is not as old as the world but it is at least as old as the big city. We were unable to find any special sociological analyses concerning the cultural life of the residents and guests of the capital. Our study did not have the ambitious purpose of analyzing in depth their cultural preferences. We chose at random about 50 people of different ages and professions, visited different cultural institutes and tried to sketch an approximate picture of the cultural life in the city.

A general impression: the resident of the big city, regardless of profession and social activities, has difficulty in organizing his leisure time, as to relaxation, sports, social gatherings, information and cultural life. It is obvious that the life-style of the Sofia residents is still not free of some everyday burdens (transportation, services, trades...), which stop him from fully utilizing his leisure time.

But this is not all. The present-day Sofia resident is inclined to a maybe traditional inaction when organizing the use of his leisure time. He often does not realize that after tiring official, social and personal duties during the day, he would relax better (and more sensibly) in the concert hall, theater or at the movies, instead of being glued to the television.

This problem could be interpreted in another way as well. Some residents of the capital have reached the conclusion quite superficially (by presumptuously generalizing their limited private experience of life) that the cultural entertainment the city offers them in the evening does not help them relax, since it requires an additional intellectual exertion. Such are the cases where we hear objections like: "The play is too heavy, the film is too difficult to understand, the music is too complicated...."

This reaction is well known; it has been created by the already established tendency of the so-called "average viewer" toward a shallow and indifferent attitude to art. This problem, which is becoming universal, is the subject of planned and coordinated

work on the part of the cultural institutes. It is not something that will change in a year or two, because it is a problem of the cultural revolution as a whole.

And so, what do the Sofia residents prefer?

All people polled (a worker, employee, physician, lawyer, officer, interpreter, scientist, retired employee, housewife, engineer, student, architect, movie director, musician, librarian, dentist, journalist and so on) preferred the movies. According to the official statistical manual (1979) the 50 movie theaters in Sofia are attended by 13,614,000 viewers annually. What is the meaning of 50 movie theaters for 1,140,000 residents?

The people polled were almost unanimous in their opinion that the motion picture selection in Sofia was quite limited. It was obvious that everybody had his own taste in mind but this gave us the opportunity to obtain a relatively full picture of their preferences.

The worker: "There are very few films that deal with the real problems of the workers. We need more films like "Premium." Our movie directors seem more interested in their own problems than in ours. I have in mind films like "The Understudy," "The Truck," "Ions." Invented stuff, nothing to do with real life. So I prefer comedies, detective stories and musicals."

The sportsman said much the same, namely that there were very few films about sports, and the militiaman said there were few about detectives. A 30-year-old architect criticized the poor advertising, saying that he could not judge the quality of the films by the reviews because of the difficult style of the critics and that unclear description of the esthetic qualities of the films, usually without mentioning anything about the contents.

The lawyer said regretfully that quite often excellent films pass through empty theaters (particularly in the studio halls) because no efforts are made to clarify their topics in advance and to advertise them.

He, as well as many others, thought that justice is not done to Soviet films by indiscriminately importing films that have already been rated poorly by the Soviet viewers and Soviet critics alike. Similar mistakes are also made with films imported from other socialist countries.

Here are some other opinions: the movie-goers have the feeling that motion pictures from the West are selected for their topic and not for their artistic qualities; that there are very few motion pictures by young producers in Asia, Africa and Latin America; the selection of comedies, musicals, and detective and adventure films is extremely limited (categorical opinion of all persons polled).

The above opinion does not mean that the Sofia viewers consciously avoid problematic and highly artistic films. It is obvious, however, that the selection should be balanced and diversified. Supporting this opinion is the fact that the movie theater where movies are run continuously and the selection is in conformity with educational functions and with the taste of a wide range of viewers who prefer pure entertainment and spectacles, is the only theater in the city that has a full supply of films and highly overfulfilled financial plan.

The activity of "Dissemination of Films" has undergone some changes in the last few years which have not remained unnoticed by the viewers, although they are hardly aware of the difficulties involving movie imports. Efforts are constantly being made to diversify and enlarge their selection. At present about 180 films are imported annually (compared to 150 three years ago), but we are still far behind the other socialist countries, each of which imports about 250 motion pictures. We recently saw movies on the Sofia screen soon after their first showing in the West ("Apocalypse Now," "Orchestra Rehearsal," "Several Days in the Life of I. I. Oblomov," etc.), which gave the Sofia residents the good feeling that they were not lagging behind by 5-10 years in seeing the international movie spectacles.

Besides film selection, our poll involved other questions just as important: movie theaters, cold in the winter, stuffy in the summer; appallingly poor quality of projection in most of the movie theaters; prices for some of the films unrealistically high (a student said: I would rather have two lunches than one movie ticket).

Sofia residents like to go to the theater. But they seldom manage to do so. Most of the people polled admitted that they see at most one or two plays per season. We did not find a single person (theater fans excluded) who systematically followed the program of the Sofia theaters.

Sofia has 11 theaters with 8,139 seats. Prague has 26 theaters with over 20,000 seats. Warsaw, with a population of 1.5 million, has 18 theaters with 12,000 seats.

In the middle of the season Sofia theaters, with the exception of the People's Theater for Youth, the National Academic Theater for Opera and Ballet, the "Tears and Laughter" Theater and the Sofia Theater, were sold out for all performances 10 days in advance.

Cases like that were mentioned by all people polled when answering whether they could plan a month in advance how to use their leisure time in the dynamics of contemporary life. Therefore, two-thirds of the people polled go to the theater only when offered tickets. Furthermore, they find it suspicious when they are offered tickets.

A chemical engineer: "I always think, who knows what the play is if they are offering us tickets. But I cannot find tickets any other way. I have no time or nerves to go from one box-office to another and wait in line. And I find it hard to find out in advance what is worth seeing and what is not."

As was the case with the movies, the preferences for theater plays were quite diversified. The predominant impression among the people polled was that the selection of plays in the Sofia theaters was constantly improving. There is a constant interest in Bulgarian plays (one cannot say the same thing for motion picture films). Quoted were mainly Bulgarian plays which were preferred to others mainly because of their topical socio-moral problems: "Jacket of Velour," "Roman Bath," "Race" by Stasislov Stratiev in the Satire Theater, "Criminal Song" by Iv. Radoev in the Theater of the People's Army, "Flight" by Mikhail Velichkov in Theater 199, "The Woman Cannibal" by Iv. Radoev in the Sofia Theater. Those who had already seen "Flight Test" by Yordan Radichkov in the Ivan Vasov National Academic Theater



and "Easter Wine" by Konstantin Iliev in Sofia Theater were elated and many were sorry that they had been unable to get hold of tickets for those shows as they were convinced they would like them.

Best liked plays by foreign playwrights were "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest" and "Miss Julia" in the Tears and Laughter Theater, "Cruel Games," "Delicate Balance" and "Appetite for Cherries" in the Sofia, and "Equus" in the People's Theater for the Youth.

Theatergoers expect a better classic selection. Why have the Sofia theaters not ventured for over 15 years to produce "Hamlet," "Romeo and Juliet," "Otello," "Don Juan," etc.

A dentist (28 years old): "Hamlet" was played in Sofia 17 years ago for the last time. Does this mean that my generation is not going to see on the stage Shakespeare's most important masterpieces?"

The people polled rarely referred to the quality of the plays. Few of them felt knowledgeable and well informed enough to praise or criticize. And yet the main impression was: most of the actors have poor diction and pay no attention to the words.

Now something about music. We should agree in advance that we should not use for concert music the same criteria and requirements we used for theater and movies. The concert audience is completely different. Music requires a better prepared audience and has one definite difference: those who attend popular music concerts do not attend symphony concerts and vice versa. There are some people who like both types of music and you will meet them in the "Bulgaria" and in the "Universiada," provided they know in advance the quality of the performers. In general, however, concert-goers do not take risks and, so the music halls are usually full of professionals, colleagues of the performers and their relatives and friends.

Until recently the musicians of "serious" music used to talk with envy about the good attendance of popular music concerts. We might make them feel better by telling them that even at popular music concerts in Sofia attendance is poor. It is difficult to have a good audience for either type of music when the quality is poor and with the present-day information media, and the arrival in Sofia of someone like Ray Charles, many people are starting to express critical opinions about our own musicians. If the audience of popular music concerts started to decrease after the visit of Ray Charles, why not remind ourselves that the audience of the symphony concerts decreased after the visits of Rozhdestvenskiy, Morkayitch, and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

The veteran ticket clerks at the Sofia concert bureau were puzzled by our question: for which recent concerts have all tickets usually sold out? The answer was: for the series of organ music by Neva Krusteva, some of the concerts by the "Simfonieta" orchestra, and for the so-called "First of April Symphony Concert."

We are of the opinion that this concert deserves particular attention. As is known Sofia lacks a high-quality entertainment show like a music hall or literary nightclub. The concert of the operatic-symphony orchestra of the Bulgarian radio with



actors N. Binev, I. Fintsi, T. Kolev and R. Mladenov was repeated 18 times and the "Bulgaria" Hall was packed every single time. Some people went three and four times and the high prices did not stop anybody. In a way divorced from any tradition, this concert combined vivid, humorous improvisation, parody and most diversified entertainment with the highest level of esthetics and excellence.

A few words about exhibitions. Our polling was a real fiasco. From our conversations with 50 people only two remembered visiting some exhibitions during the past six months. And our tour of exhibition halls (eight in the city excluding the National Gallery and the City Gallery) showed that nobody kept score of the number of visitors. We could not understand why. Are the artists not interested in the number of visitors seeing their pictures and who they are, is no institute interested in such data?

The first impression when visiting exhibition halls is their emptiness; but is this not the traditional idea of an exhibition, the pictures hanging on the walls and two or three visitors contemplating them? It is a fact that professionals and connoisseurs usually attend the opening but it is also a fact that those who really want to see an exhibition also go back another day. The average exhibition lasts 20-25 days and offers such a possibility. Here is the opinion of a worker in an exhibition hall: "It looks as if all interest is exhausted at the opening. People come later, of course, but very few. It's mainly young people and students who come. I think that there are more visitors at general art exhibitions, at exhibitions of applied art. There is considerable interest in illustrations and book layouts, in exhibits of architectural plans and urban planning, in artistic photography. In principle, exhibitions by foreign artists are better attended."

What is the conclusion of our polling? The preferences are as many as the people but the possibilities are limited. If we could trace any tendency, we could say that it is toward a merging of those two lines. This most likely means that cultural life is becoming richer and the taste and needs of the people are developing parallel with it.

1010

CSO: 2200/114

CAREER DATA PROVIDED ON ROCKET TROOP, ARTILLERY COMMANDERS

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 6, Jun 81 signed to press 30 Mar 81  
pp 38-39

['AR Information' feature article: "Commanders of Rocket Troop and Artillery Units"]

[Text] We repeatedly receive reader's letters asking questions about military professions. Today we can answer the inquiries of Klaus-Dieter Schramm from Senftenberg, J. Brueckner from Stralsund, Werner Haensel from Berlin, Gerd Mirsch from Zeitz, Arno Eckert from Weimar and Jens Karbowski from Puerstenwalde, on the careers of commanders of rocket troop and artillery units by providing a slightly condensed excerpt from the career training catalog (Officers).

The rocket troops and artillery are a branch of the ground combat forces.

The rocket troops are the main firepower of the ground forces; they can conduct rocket barrages quickly, very accurately, surprisingly, in any terrain, season or time of day or night. They are composed of operative-tactical and tactical rockets on mobile launchers having the necessary technical facilities, as well as units of the meteorological service and survey units with their radio ranging stations and automatic survey equipment.

The artillery is the most powerful means of fire to provide direct support of motorized infantry and armored troop units in all types of engagements. It can fire under any conditions, quickly, by surprise and with great effect. The fire units of the artillery are equipped with cannon, artillery pieces and mortars, as well as guided AT rockets; their combat actions are secured by units of artillery reconnaissance, the artillery survey service and the artillery meteorological service.

Activities

The commander of a rocket or artillery unit is the superior to all members of his unit. As the sole military commander, he is responsible for the unit's political and military guidance. He also bears responsibility for political and combat training of his subordinates, for their training in higher military discipline

and order. He has to guarantee the constant readiness of arms and tactics, as well as the combat readiness of his unit.

If a young lieutenant is employed as platoon commander after graduation from the officer candidate school, then he must perform the following tasks: Political training of the soldiers and NCOs of his platoon and, as squad training director, conduct the political indoctrination of the soldiers; perform combat training or direct squad and gun commanders in combat training (tactics of rocket troops and artillery, general tactics, fire discipline in handling and operation of the rocket systems and equipment or training in actions for operation of guns, structure, use and maintenance of rocket systems, structure of guns, equipment and munitions, rocket or artillery fire training, survey training, meteorology, engineer training, training in protection against weapons of mass destruction, physical training); implement rigid military discipline and order; care and maintenance of armament and equipment. In battle, the platoon commander must generate combat readiness of his unit quickly and meet the fire missions in the interest of other armed units and in the interest of cooperation.

#### Specific Requirements

The commander of a rocket or artillery unit in combat performs tasks of support of other armed forces. He must perform the following specific tasks: He is responsible for indoctrination of socialist soldiers and for their military perfection. He must master the equipment and armament of his unit. A high degree of accuracy, thoroughness and cleanliness is needed for drawings. He must have a good memory and training in fast, accurate calculating and in handling mathematical tables. Fundamental knowledge of electronics and electrical circuitry and control equipment is needed. In his activity as commander, decisiveness, quick reactions, discretion and initiative in actions are required.

An advantage of this command career is graduation as a survey technician, technician for data processing, BMSR-technology or for production equipment, electro-mechanic, maintenance mechanic, precision mechanic, machine and systems assembler or machinist. A prerequisite is that the officer candidate earn the badge "For Preliminary and Technical Knowledge", Step II, of a particular career.

#### Objective and Content of Training

The Officer Training School has the goal of training a socialist officer who is capable of leading a rocket or artillery unit in combat and to combine the army members subordinate to him into a socialist combat collective.

The special training comprises tactics of rocket troops or artillery, general tactics, rocket or artillery fire training, technical training (structure, handling and maintenance of various rocket and artillery systems, optic equipment, radio survey equipment, automatic survey instruments and electronic computers), fire training (handling and operation of rocket systems or guns, mortars and projectile launchers), engineer and information training and training in protection against weapons of mass destruction.

The course of study at the Ernst Thaelmann officer training school of the ground forces in Loebau includes the exchange of information for the command of a launcher

or artillery battery, and instruction in the tasks and employment of a rocket or artillery detachment. Several weeks' practical training is a part of this.

#### Assignment and Advancement Potentials

After successful completion of study at the Officer Training School, the officer will be assigned, in accord with his specific area of study, to a rocket or artillery unit as fire commander or platoon commander, to a reconnaissance, survey or artillery instrument recon unit as platoon commander, to a technical platoon in a rocket unit as platoon commander, or as officer for guidance and propulsion systems in a rocket launcher battery.

If the young lieutenant has gained suitable experience and perfected his knowledge in troop duty at the first officer duty post, then he can be assigned—usually after 2 to 4 years—to a detachment staff as battery chief or to an equivalent position. In the further course of the career, study at a military academy and assumption of a higher position are possible.

9280

CSO: 2300/255



## OFFICIAL DEFENDS SPECIAL COACHING FOR WORKERS' CHILDREN

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Jul 81 p 5

[Text] A number of investigations and scientific studies indicate that the scholastic progress of children of working class parents in elementary school is inferior to that of children of intellectuals. This affects selection of secondary schools and their entire life's vocation. Even as graduates, workers' children become part only of less prestigious intellectual groups, and few of them attain leading positions. The fact must also be faced that those lacking opportunity for mobility make less effort and are less able to get their children into better schools. Mobility has been affected by a recent decline in job openings in the intellectual field.

The ongoing debates about social mobility, development of the school system, the status of the disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged, the growing role of the intellectuals and about incomes all reveal again more pointedly that there is political uncertainty about decisions concerning aid for education and continuing education for children of manual workers.

According to Ferenc Ipolyi, department head of the Ministry of Culture, this is a long-term political task:

"In the late 60's and even sometimes today, overcoming cultural disadvantages has been regarded as simply something to be achieved through education. Others have regarded it as an exclusively social task whereas actually everyone has a part to play.

"The confusion is caused by the fact that to speak of a disadvantaged situation is to take a sociological approach whereas support of those of worker origin is actually a political task. Views have arisen according to which special aid for children of worker parents is no longer justified. Many in many places fail to understand that support for education of such children derives from the leading role of the working class. At present, this problem has become completely merged with the problems of the offspring of the disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged. This is why the State Youth Committee discussed this matter among other issues recently."

[Question] Who are considered children of manual workers?

[Answer] Those having one parent who is a worker or peasant or is directly involved in directing production. However, there is debate about these classifications.

[Question] Isn't this sort of classification embarrassing?

[Answer] We don't classify anyone. We try to provide aid in such a way that no hurtful discrimination will be felt. Most of the disadvantaged are children of manual workers. This is why differentiation between the two concepts is desirable, since they remain disadvantaged on a long-term basis. Education is considered an asset even among those families of intellectuals whose earnings are lowest.

[Question] If worker families are left to seek aid for their children, aren't you afraid that pride or vanity will keep them from acting?

[Answer] This can indeed happen. Yet, the benefits of pre-university coaching have been proved. The committees which prepare students for university admission came into being 10 years ago. Since then they have been operating in agricultural, liberal arts, public health, legal, technical and economic institutions. Student teachers, those enrolled in or teaching at institutions of higher education, coach 16 and 17-year olds to prepare them for taking entrance examinations. The coaching is conducted through correspondence courses, day classes and special camps. This year nearly 28,000 youngsters of worker origin were involved in such coaching. Results are illustrated by the fact that last year 58 percent were admitted [to universities], 6 percent were transferred, and only 36 percent failed to qualify.

[Question] Do you consider it realistic to believe that family background can be compensated for in this way?

[Answer] Not entirely. It is a question of giving a needed boost in taking entrance examinations. Ideally, it would be best if such measures were unnecessary.

[Question] Isn't there some contradiction in deeming selection of a trade less valuable than electing to go to college? Doesn't this attitude reduce the prestige of manual work?

[Answer] Such is not our intention, but it must be evident that for a talented youngster not to continue his studies at a high school is a detour for him. In any event, it is by no means certain that we would discover who is talented in time. I emphasize that I consider even a single step toward mobility important. It seems that public opinion fails to appreciate this properly. The percentage of workers' children in the eighth grade of elementary school is still about 80 percent. Scarcely fewer of them apply for admission to secondary school. Most apply to vocational training schools. Worker families send their children to schools at which they can acquire special training quickly and thus achieve independent earnings in a short time. Sixty-four percent of the children of worker parentage attend vocational training schools; one-fourth go to vocational secondary school, and only 13 percent to high school. At the same time, 70 percent of first-year college students are high school graduates. In other words, the possibility of becoming a highly qualified specialist is determined as early as completion of elementary school through selection of the type of secondary school to be attended.

PROBLEM OF REPUBLIC OF BOTH WORLD OUTLOOKS DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE I MYSL in Polish No 4, Apr 81 pp 13-24

[Article by Andrzej Polkowski: "A Republic of Two World Views"]

I

[Text] A nationwide debate on how to improve our republic has been going on for more than half a year now. Persons from all social strata are speaking their minds, including those who in the recent past had not been in a position to voice their opinions in public. Returning openly and publicly to the pages of the secular, party and Catholic press are topics that were unwelcome in the past because raising them tended to upset the predetermined image of an ideal, conflict-free "moral-ideological" unity of the nation. Among these are topics that have always been of utmost importance for Poles because they involved fundamental values: the Polish imponderables whose living presence at all times in our history sets it apart so clearly from the histories of other nations.

The fact that the latest and most severe crisis centered not only on bread-and-butter issues, bureaucratic absurdities or even the generally evident breakdown of the entire economy was well known from the very first days of the government commission's talks at the Gdansk Shipyard. For the most part, the proposals addressed specific issues of daily living, but they also reflected an awareness of the most profound problems: human dignity, unconditional respect for truth and a humanistic sense of work and justice; in brief, an awareness of world outlook problems.

It was beyond doubt that those problems had to be raised in an overt and rational manner in a theoretical debate on the form of Poland's renewal. The religious symbols, practices and experiences widely manifested in the workers' and peasants' centers of protest, had drawn the attention of some intellectuals and activists in the right direction, focusing on the problem of "pluralism in world outlooks and secularity of the state," as stated in the initial communique from the deliberations of the reinstituted Church-State Joint Commission.

Initially, the raising of such problems was not self-evident for all, however. The PAX Association's press publications were the first to do this. In early September, they published PAX Chairman Ryszard Reiff's report from the first PAX

Association Board session to follow the signing of the Szczecin and Gdansk accords, held on 4 September 1980, and, subsequently, a complete text of his Sigmund Freud address.<sup>1</sup> PAX's leading the way came as a matter of course. The significance of world-outlook problems, postulated plurality in world outlooks and the inspirational role generated by world outlooks are central to PAX's ideology, formulated and advocated from its inception. The board chairman, by recalling those issues in the context of the dramatic events of the summer of 1980, had raised them to the rank of a diagnostic assessment of certain vital causes of the crisis and an urgent call for renewal. "The strikes indeed revealed the nation's desire to attain ampler opportunities for the expression of attitudes as well as religious and outlook-related needs. At the same time they reaffirmed the vigorous and close relationship between catholic beliefs and patriotic attitudes with a commitment to the improvement of our situation. Accordingly, it is indispensable for such an important bastion of social and moral power as Polish Catholicism to create conditions under which it will be able more fully to support the well-being of the nation and the state. This will become possible only at a time when the pluralism which actually exists in our society's outlooks is given expression in a pluralistic outlook of a socialist Polish state."<sup>2</sup>

These pronouncements were followed by a 3-month lag, and only then did outlook problems become a topic for discussion in the secular press. This debate was sparked by Stefan Bratkowski's bold article "Five Polish Peculiarities—Where Are We Headed," in *ZYCIE WARSZAWY*, 1 December 1980. The new chairman of the Polish Journalists' Association [SDP] regarded the role of Polish Catholicism in the life of the nation as the first of these idiosyncrasies: "In a country with a catholic majority in which two-thirds of the party membership believe in God, a political line cannot be founded on the party's coexistence with catholic circles but on cooperation and their mutual interpenetration in society's life. In practical terms, this means that a person's membership in the political party guided by the doctrine of scientific socialism should be measured by that person's acceptance of the party's political program, based on Marxist thinking, rather than on acceptance of a Marxist world outlook.... A party member who believes in God does not have to conceal his religious sentiments; he must hold all of the active and passive electoral rights available in the party, while equally sharing with all other members in the custody over the party's secularity and each member's right to protect his own world outlook."

Bratkowski's drastic and public raising of a problem always regarded as a most sensitive one caused a vigorous discussion as a matter of course. It was not an exclusively theoretical debate. Bratkowski took a realistic position on the foundation of evident facts about which everybody had known, but nobody discussed, because those facts did not fit the patterns seen as inviolable until recently. Seeking more effective methods to destroy the causes rather than the symptoms of the disease, Bratkowski ventured to attack the patterns, in fact, without stubbornly insisting on his contentions, but proposing to have them discussed "at least as a start, so that we know what we want to be headed for—other than restoration of trust and economic reconstruction—so that we know where we are heading."

The debate was not limited to the original problem of "believers within the party," though this problem aroused the most animation (which is understandable).



Inevitably, those participating in the debate had to reach down deeper, to the problem of plurality of outlooks and secularity of the socialist state. The manner in which this problem was addressed may seem rather simplistic to a PAX activist. It should not be forgotten, however, that, while at PAX this problem had been widely reflected upon for years, broader segments of the populace, including the intellectuals and activists, on the whole had no opportunities or conditions for such reflection. For several years even the very term "plurality of outlooks" could hardly appear in our publications and any discussions about socialist pluralism were generally seen as unwelcome.<sup>3</sup> Slogans about "ideological and moral unity" and "believers and nonbelievers jointly building a new Poland" had to suffice. World outlook problems were raised by specialists in pure theory and in propaganda based on it in a fashion so remote from real life with its surge of conflicts that they at best provoked a shrug, not to mention a sizable share of the kind of writing that filled bookstore shelves with volumes nobody wanted to buy. Lying in front of me, for example, are three items from the "World Outlooks" series published by the "Książka i Wiedza" [KIW] Publishing House, ostensibly focused directly on the problem that recently provoked such animated debate. "Controversies About World Outlooks" by J.F. Godlewski, "Some Problems in the Division of Church and State" by E. Grzelak and "Marxism and Religiousness" by S. Opara were all issued in January 1980, 50,000 copies each. It follows from these publications that world outlook problems have been resolved in our country in an ideal and exemplary fashion; everyone is content, nothing can or should be changed in this area from now on. Everything has been logically reasoned and programmed to its ultimate conclusion. The church is separated from the state. Religion is a private matter, the materialist outlook, on the other hand, is the outlook of the working class, as a consequence, the state representing its interests, programmitically supports and fosters this outlook. The problem of believers is taken care of by the statement that they can--and actually do--participate in the building of socialism thanks to the state's reasoned policy on religious beliefs. One cannot help wondering why, all of a sudden, and less than a year after these books were published, mass is celebrated in factories at the workers' request, and the party's press periodicals carry on an argument that the "working class wants to entrust to the church the resolving of the riddle of human existence."<sup>4</sup>

In years past, Catholic journalists' attempts at a totally different—one resulting from an assessment of realities of Polish society's life—presentation of these problems either could not appear in print,<sup>5</sup> or, washed down to hints and understatement, encountered a routine response in the form of those theoretical theses about the privacy of religion, freedom of conscience, equal rights and tolerance for all citizens. The lives of particular, anonymous individuals and society's life were fictitiously subdivided into neatly separated spheres: the sphere of religion here, the sphere of socialist commitment over there; moral values here, their motivations elsewhere; "scientific world outlook" on the one hand, mere faith on the other; shared strenuous labor here, and an inspiration that gives sense to it elsewhere. Actually, in that pragmatic and technocratic period, the role of world outlooks in society's life was not appreciated at all, along with a tendency to isolate such problems in the study rooms of specialized theoretical scholars. An alarming signal could have been provided by assessments of the course of John

Paul II's visit to Poland. In practice, however, the only response to this fact was reinvigoration of an otherwise commendable outreach policy toward the institutional church, or the hierarchy. The ongoing processes in society's consciousness continued to be neglected.

This self-delusion of our "prominent leaders" and a large number of professional activists in the lay movement who brandished the above slogans could be measured by their unpleasant surprise at the fact that the hierarchy, while demonstrating a great deal of restraint and good will on a number of issues of importance for the state, stubbornly and uncompromisingly criticized the methods, goals and effects of what is termed "laicization." The term is used here in quotes because it has acquired a particular significance in our country, going far beyond that which is understood to be meant by "secularism" elsewhere in the world and which is not controversial within the Universal church as well, at least since the time of the council. Dwelling on this subject would expand the scope of this article; at this point I wish only to point out a characteristic paradox. The church, while accepting the legitimate "state secularity" (as can be seen, for example, in the Joint Commission's report, mentioned above), opposes "laicization." An analysis of the motives of this opposition, contained in the Episcopate's successive letters, clearly demonstrates that these are not purely doctrinal motives but overall social motives as well, oriented toward internal peace and the nation's welfare. "It is increasingly frequently claimed these days," the Polish bishops state in the pastoral letter of 22 March 1968, "that a modern state should not grant a privileged position to any philosophical system, ideology or cultural or artistic trend. Thus, as is the case with imposed laicization, when state authorities commit themselves to a materialist world outlook, using the administrative apparatus and state installations for its dissemination, we are forced to voice our protest. The common good and the principles of social justice require people of different world views to coexist, benefiting from various rights in every field, without the secular authorities' resorting to discrimination and administrative pressures toward believers."<sup>6</sup> In subsequent passages of the pastoral letter, the Polish bishops warn against artificial divisions of human life into mutually independent spheres and against separating the sphere of motivation from actions and their goals.

This realistic look on the significance of world-view problems nationwide was even more pointedly expressed by the Polish Primate in his celebrated Jasna Gora sermon in August of 1980: "It appeared to us that the period we were living through in a way 'shifted the world off its course.' This shift was integral, total. While pruning overgrown limbs that people did not like, however, the very trunk of the tree was weakened at times. This happened especially because of the promoted atheization that undermined the millenium nation's bonds and cultural force. This was neither needed nor useful, nor was it connected with the doctrine in the name of which the socioeconomic system was being reconstructed. Yet by turning children and youth to atheism in the schools and even in social and public life, a crisis of confidence was occasioned in people who may have even meant well, but failed to understand that certain values, upon which the nation is founded and whose force lets it live, cannot be infringed upon."

Between this resolute and permanent opposition of the Polish bishops and the fully complacent but unrealistic theory of the "policy on denominations," there

was a vast expanse of human drama of conscience, erosion of trust and mounting protest. One thing is certain: the Polish bishops undoubtedly displayed far more familiarity with world-view-related aspects of the processes occurring within society's actual consciousness than did lay journalists and scholars specializing in world-view problems. However, the bishops' caveats were regarded for years as a sign of churchly expansionism, while PAX's postulate for plurality of world views was considered a totally artificial cerebral construct of a small group of odd fanatics. It was in August of 1980 that we learned what large segments of the nation, especially the working class, were thinking about that.

## II

Without doubt, S. Bratkowski's point of departure for his article was also realistic, based on relating two undeniable facts: the majority of citizens' acknowledging their Catholicism and actual presence of believers in the party membership. His proposal as well as subsequent discussions were weakened by a total lack of consensus as to the basic terms being used: world outlook, ideology, philosophy, and belief and cult. Those participating in the discussion were essentially divided into two groups: those who persisted in maintaining the present theory and practices in this regard unchanged (except at the most, improving the quality of party indoctrination) and those who had noticed the problem but were unable to go beyond their perception of its detrimental or at least ambiguous aspects.<sup>8</sup> In that, however, they were substantially helped by W. Loranc who, in his polemic with Bratkowski, proposed a position that would be downright cynical if accepted officially. "A believer," Loranc affirms, "can belong to the party but he cannot question its ideology or accept only a part of the party's world view. One can join the party accepting at first only its political goals, recognizing other goals, but not being yet prepared for their honest, or practical, affirmation."<sup>9</sup> Among Loranc's opponents, W. Gielzynski correctly remarks that "it is hard to understand much from these grammatically convoluted sentences, but the point seems to be that a believer can become a party member only if he consciously assumes his gradual loss of religiousness. However, such a man is obviously not a believer; he is simply two-faced. As an adherent to a secular world view, I voice my protest here against Loranc's proposal: I would not like to be in the party together with cynics without ideology."<sup>10</sup>

Is it, however, only a proposal of Loranc's or a description of actual current condition? "Until now," other discussants admit, "the party's position on religious beliefs and practices was practically as follows: party functionaries, propagandists and intellectuals were required to be consistent in their world views and to take an areligious attitude, while such consistency as a rule, was not exacted from rank-and-file party membership because of the assumed gradual departure from religious beliefs and practices during the process of philosophical and ideological development, that is to say, a gradual laicization of attitudes."<sup>11</sup>

This, also, is admitted by W. Myslek who sees a simple solution to the problem in reinforcing party indoctrination, especially that of candidates.<sup>12</sup>



It is not up to me to propose intraparty solutions. As a believer who—according to current practices and opinions of many discussants—could be faced with the theoretical problems of becoming a party member, I must respond, paraphrasing Gielzynski, in the following manner: I would not like to and I could not become a member of a party that assumes it will free me by degrees from the "illusion" of my world view or regards me as nothing but an item in its enrollment statistics. This is so obvious that it is a matter of wonder how much the lay journalists need to discuss this topic. Some of them, however, correctly remark that "over the years not only did many misunderstandings accumulate over these issues but, "worse than that," there evolved in the colloquial consciousness a phenomenon of dual morality, generating hypocrisy, falsity, spiritual ambivalence and family conflicts which, on the one hand, vent the believers' distrust toward the party ideology and, on the other hand, reflect the uncertainty of party members about world-view issues."<sup>13</sup>

Would these conflicts and this hypocrisy automatically disappear if the party statutorily and practically renounced dialectical materialism as its compulsory single view of reality? This seems to be the notion of S. Braktowski and some of Loranc's opponents. As a matter of fact, R. Wojna refers to precedents, primarily the position of the Italian Communist Party.<sup>14</sup> Its statute proclaims that "the Italian Communist Party can be joined by citizens over 18 years of age who—irrespective of race, religious creed and philosophical persuasion—accept the party's political program and pledge to act toward its implementation, compliance with the statute and work in one of the party organizations." As is known, Catholics were on the Italian Communist Party candidate list in the Italian elections of 1977. This initiated revealing correspondence between Bishop Betazzi, ordinary of Ivrea, and Italian Communist Party Secretary E. Berlinguer. R. Wojna mentions these letters but he does not refer—which is rather essential—to the reason why Bishop Betazzi first sent his letter. That reason was the fear that regardless of the party statute, public opinion might become convinced that Marxism in its entirety could be reconciled with Catholic doctrine, which would, of course, be an erroneous conclusion, harmful to both sides. In his response, Berlinguer explains that the Italian Communist Party renounced the advocacy of atheism, retaining Marxist analysis for the evaluation of the historical process and for constructing political strategy. "Within the Italian Communist Party, there exists and acts a will not only to construct and maintain here, in Italy, a secular and democratic party; as such neither theistic, atheistic nor antitheistic, but also to create, as a direct consequence, a secular and democratic state which would be neither theistic, atheistic nor antitheistic as well."<sup>15</sup>

Unfortunately, neither Berlinguer nor the Polish journalists taking part in the discussion in question offer a closer explanation of how to separate dialectical materialism from Marxist analysis of history or political economy, nor do they probe the possibilities for bringing all the theses and instruments of that analysis into consensus with Christian anthropology and the church's social science. Indisputably, many points of convergence exist and, for the most part, these focus the attention of the advocates of dialogue and collaboration, and justly so. It is not enough, however, to enumerate such points when evaluating the possibilities of a Catholic's joining the Marxist party; it is necessary to



examine all program theses and their philosophical background in this case. To take the first example that comes to mind, a Christian can accept the notion of class struggle as a key for understanding, a description of the historical process, but can he accept class struggle as a postulate, as a method by which to reach an equitable system?

The principal fault of all the proposals intended to enable Catholics to join the Marxist party is in regarding their membership in the church as a certain narrow, deeply concealed private sphere, involving only a fragment of the human personality. So conceived, Catholicism is simply a belief in the supernatural, an eschatology and cult, a particular religious experience. Insofar as the church as an institution is severing its alliance with the class exploitation system (rendering obsolete the so-called historical argument), its members ontological, anthropological and sociomoral convictions become almost irrelevant for those who are referred to as "open Marxists." It is difficult not to have the impression that this de facto conceals plain neglect accorded those convictions and, furthermore, an unfortunate tendency (more or less conscious) to treat the holders of these convictions as mere instruments. This is accompanied by cartoon simplifications of the vision of Catholicism, quite frequent in many Marxists, which is demonstrated in particular in their emphasizing what Marxism is in contradistinction to Catholicism. Once science, humanism, rationalism, Prometheism, democratism, disalienation and demystification are all placed on one side, while Catholicism is on the other, it becomes clear that the latter can pertain only to some secret, private sphere of human personality. Except that this has nothing in common with the consciousness of living flesh and blood Catholics for whom the positions, listed above as contradictory, are their own. It is not accidental that in the discussion references are made to the problem of "believers within the party" and not "Catholics within the party." As a matter of fact, we are not concerned about conscious members of the church but indifferent ones who are maintaining for various reasons their sentiments about some religious practices (baptism, first communion for children, Catholic weddings and funerals, celebrations of religious holidays, and attachment to symbols in the form of the cross, medals or religious pictures). It is difficult to be certain whether we are dealing with world outlooks in this case at all. It is not possible to try a solution of the problem of pluralistic world views by focusing maximum attention on the periphery of the church because this will only lead to misunderstandings, illusions and further conflicts.

In his statement made in connection with the polemic of Braktowski and Loranc, K. Jakubowski perceived the danger of apparent solutions to the problem it posed in this manner.<sup>16</sup> Namely, he asked an essential question: "What are the reasons for the presence of a huge proportion of believers in the party?" The answer finally leads us in the right direction, to the problem of pluralism in world outlooks under socialism. "In my opinion," Jakubowski states, "the causes must be sought in the party's policy, clearly not the one that is declared and written into programs, but that which is actually implemented. (Let us remember that the PZPR had, and still holds, a monopoly on authority). It is no secret that the gaining and even retaining of certain positions (in the economic, cultural and, even more so, political life) was dependent, until now, on membership in the party and frequently was the only criterion for the selection of people."

### III

A. Micewski, in his brief comment on the article by A. Werblan who also postulated the abolition of so-called world view requirements in personnel policy, correctly reminds us of the old PAX theses which say that the point is not only "to create new dignitaries, loudly proclaiming their Catholicism and less well known for their substantive competence. A certain Catholic politician who had died 2 years earlier called this a phenomenon of dramatization of political life."<sup>17</sup> The typewriter which Micewski uses is constructed so that it is impossible to write on it the name of that politician, Boleslaw Piasecki. This name is, however, essential in this context because the above quote leads us to the entire PAX theory of pluralism in world outlooks as a comprehensive solution to the problem of rightful participation of Christians in the building of socialism in Poland.

This is not the place for a detailed survey of that theory whose construction, dissemination and implementation have been the vital substance of the entire history of the PAX association. It is worth noting in the context of the matters under discussion that an important part of this theory is the inspirational idea of the world view. It proclaims that a Catholic can (though he does not need to) engage himself in the building of the social system not only as a more or less active co-implementor of the program worked out from beginning to end by the Marxist party but as a rightful co-creator of that program who draws the motivation for his choice from his world view. The idea of world-view inspiration is radically opposed to the separation of man into different spheres of activity; it aims at guarding the integrity of the human person; it demands constant deepening of the world view and continued confrontation of the directions for action with the value system and it calls for consistency.

The theory of inspiration is clearly opposed to all forms of integrationism, or to directly relating the world view to a particular system or political direction as well as political clericalism. A lay Catholic makes the choice of political commitment on his own account. He does not fall back on the authority of the church whose religious, moral and apostolic mission has an extrasystemic and apolitical character. In his choice and in further action, a Catholic takes advantage of the inspiration flowing from his world view and from his own assessment of reality. Reality itself, and its assessment, are variable and depend on many factors. It is essential, however, to emphasize in this context the aspect of world view which intensifies human life and actions. Marxists put heavy emphasis on this aspect when dealing with their own world outlook. Unfortunately, when they pass on to an assessment of Catholicism, in their up till now broad understanding, the world view with its cognitive, political and practical functions<sup>18</sup> is abruptly reduced to eschatology, cult and religion. One should agree with Stanislaw Rainko when he writes: "The concept of world outlook, while remaining semantically close to the concepts of ideology, philosophy and science, is not, however, reducible to them. It pertains to the most comprehensive positions and orientations, that is, those beyond which no other, more

more comprehensive, positions and orientations can exist, correlated at the same time in a certain manner with human existential and social attitudes and capable of codetermining those attitudes."<sup>19</sup> The concept of world-view inspiration is connected precisely with that correlation. But this concerns all world outlooks, not only the Marxist one.

The pluralism of world views within the socialist commitment means therefore recognition of the possibility of Catholics opting for socialism without isolating their world view into a private sphere or culture (it would be a virtual denial of the role of a world view in the Marxist sense to Catholicism). Pluralism in world view in the Marxist sense to Catholicism). Pluralism in world views is the recognition of that possibility in theory and the drawing of all the consequences in practice. In this understanding, a Catholic can accept the principle of privacy of religion, but he cannot agree to the principle of privacy of the world view, even when it can be labeled with the adjective "religious." "A world view is only a form of social awareness but also one of the basic instruments of our actions."<sup>20</sup> We agree with this, but this applies to all world views, not only the Marxist one. Nonacceptance of this can be treated today as nothing but an anachronism or deliberate mystification. We are all aware that we will not accomplish an improvement of the republic resorting to anachronistic schemes or by continuing to apply tactical feints or silence.

In an exceptionally pointed way, Ryszard Reiff recorded those anachronistic patterns in the treatment of believers in his report delivered on 6 November 1980 at a session of the board of the PAX Association. Among the seven patterns he mentioned, the third and fourth are directly related to our reflections:

"The third pattern finds its expression in the belief that religion is confined to cultural affairs and does not at all generate a world outlook with social values. Such an approach does not perceive, or negates, the existence of Promethean Christian humanism which is so lucidly expressed by the contemporary social science of the church. According to this way of thinking, 'If the social, world-view-related and normative function of religion is not reactionary and backward, then it does not exist at all outside of the phenomena of faith.

"The fourth pattern is actually a consequence of the third. If one fails to see the role of church teachings and the Christian world view in various interpersonal relations, beginning with the family and ending with social attitudes toward work, when one ascribes to the church nothing but appeals to the concern for individual spiritual development, detached from life in its social complexity and development, then one also fails to see the needs and values of autonomy for Catholic laymen. At that point, their affairs are treated within a reduced dimension of their right to a cult and efforts are made to deal exclusively with the religious-pastoral authority--the hierarchy of the church. This pattern says: cult--yes, apostolate--no, clergy--yes, lay faith within the confines of a temple--yes, a religious world view within the confines of society--no."<sup>21</sup>

The application of such patterns in practice, the narrowing down of the problem of believers in a socialist state to what is termed denominational policy, lead--as



shown by realities of August 1980--to consequences perhaps least expected by the party: to the politicizing of the church in the consciousness of the broad masses. It is totally evident today that the church itself renounced any and all political functions, and the imposition of this role on the church can be nothing but the result of glaring errors in the relations between the political centers and the nation. A. Kolakowski and J. Migasinski even refer in this context to "a political gap, created by our own actions, which turn the church into a social and political pole to which are gravitating all those whom we rejected, who cannot find a place among us, nor see a place in society's life in the broad sense."<sup>22</sup> Agreeing with the general to specify what character this "gravitation" has. The point is not, after all, as W. Myslek suggested without presenting concrete sources of his speculations, "in the retreat of many working people from materialism toward religion, which is being manifested as a result of profound doubt about the values of socialist practices."<sup>23</sup> First of all, it must be noticed that the long-lasting nonrecognition of the inspiration of the Christian world view in social and public life and the limiting of Catholic problems to the sphere of cult has brought about, paradoxically, (maliciously, one might say) the transfer of the sphere of cult to sociopolitical life in a climate of collective protest and emergence of independent labor unions. The second consequence of the functioning of the above-mentioned patterns was the virtual turning of the newly-established labor unions to the church and its social teachings, although by its nature that movement cannot be and should not be a religious movement, which, in fact, is confirmed by numerous declarations of its leaders.

#### IV

Let us here return once again to the problem of believers within the party. In the above-quoted article, K. Jakubowski formulated a thought which seems to be right on target concerning this problem: "If genuine equality of status and advancement for all citizens existed in the PRL, if membership in the party gave no definite advantages, there would be no one but authentic communists in the PZPR, people for whom Marxism is the substance of their lives." I agree with this statement and I would feel an even greater respect for such a party. However, where would the Catholics be then?

The abolition of so-called "world-view requirements" and so-called "nomenklatura" as criteria for promotion to all positions and their replacement by the criterion of professionalism in undoubtedly the first fundamental postulate for pluralism is undoubtedly the first fundamental postulate for pluralism in world views under socialism that has stated to be implemented all over Poland. Resting the matter here, however, would be an equivalent of reverting to an instrumental treatment of persons openly holding a Catholic world view and underestimating the role of that world view's inspiration in sociopolitical life.

Religious denomination parties or groupings are already anachronistic today, if they are regarded as political formations that claim to express the political opinions of all Catholics and engage the hierarchy's prestige, operating out of its mandate. Religious-denomination trade unions are a similar anachronism now as well. This does not mean, however, in keeping with this article's entire



line of reasoning, that Marxists alone sense the necessity and have the right to associate into unions of people who are related by a joint, constantly deepened, world-view inspiration and a joint assessment of reality and development of a program of action. Recognizing the Marxist party's historical right, based on realities of our contemporary sociopolitical situation, to perform the leading role in the socialist state, Catholics who are consciously committed to socialism must have the right to create ideopolitical formations (associations, unions, parties or groups) within which they would be able to deepen their world-view inspiration together, along with a joint assessment of reality, subsequently molded into a program of action. Such formations exist in Poland, the point is to enable them to become--in keeping with their opportunities and ambitions--partners of the party and genuine power sources for society's energy, measured not only by their range of impact, but also by the number and quality of their candidates to representative bodies and leadership positions. Renunciation of the anachronistic model of a religious-denomination party leads to the recognition of pluralism of such formations, whereas the shared world view inspiration and political realism dictate the formulation of a postulate for establishing mechanisms for mutual understanding. Loyalty to the general guidelines contained in the church's social teachings can be a platform for such understanding.

However, consistent fulfillment of these postulates will be impossible if a third postulate is passed over in silence: instituting genuine secularity of the socialist state. Genuine--therefore, signifying theoretical and practical neutrality of the state and all of its institutions toward world views. I am convinced that this subject is currently becoming central to the debate over the most enduring and most creative solutions to the problem of world outlooks in Poland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. R. Reiff, "Sila socjalizmu--wierz z narodem: Polska to calosc" [The Strength of Socialism Is its Bond with the Nation], Sejm addresses. These addresses were reprinted in ZYCIE I MYSL No 11, 1980.
2. R. Reiff, op. cit.
3. S. Ehrlich's "Oblicza pluralizmu" [Profiles of Pluralism] a pioneering analysis in our country, has a chapter titled "Marxism versus Pluralism" and another "On Certain Pluralistic Trends in the Socialist Reconstruction of Society." It was published in 1980 in 2,000 copies and was virtually inaccessible for free sale. This monograph is based on the lectures its author gave, lamentably, only outside of Poland.
4. The quote is from K. Klopotoski's article "Gdzie bija zdroja wartosci?" [Where Are the Sources of Values?], LITERATURA No 9, 1981.
5. For example, our "Open Letter to the Chairman of the Main Board of TTKS [Society for Fostering Secular Culture], Prof Tadeusz Jarczewski, Ph. D., of December, 1976, which we were able to publish no sooner than exactly 4 years later, in December 1980. (ZYCIE I MYSL, No 12, 1980, pp 110-117).

6. Author's emphasis--A.P.
7. ZYCIE I MYSL, No 11, 1980, p 25.
8. I restrict myself here to reporting the comments of journalists from outside the PAX press. In PAX's publications, the world-view-related context of the August crisis and the conclusions drawn from it were raised in numerous articles. Besides the above-listed R. Reiff addresses, his report on a meeting of the [PAX] Board "Polish Democracy" should be mentioned here (SLOWO POWSZECHNE 15-16 November 1980). See also A. Borowska, "Prymat wartosci moralnych" [Primacy of Moral Values] ZYCIE I MYSL No 11, 1980; J. Woikowski, "Chrzescijanstwo a "ustroj pracy" w Polsce "80'" [Christianity and the "Labor System" in Poland in the 1980's] ZYCIE I MYSL No 12, 1980; "Chrzescijanstwo a socjalizm" [Christianity and Socialism] (PAX activists' discussion) printed in KIERUNKI No 40, 1980; J. Wagner, "W oparciu o swiatopogląd czy ponad swiatopoglądem" [Based on a World View or Beyond a World View], WTK, No 50, 1980; J. Wagner, "Wierzacy w Partii" [Believers Within the Party] WTK No 9, 1981.
9. W. Loranc, "O probach zaglaskania socjalizmu" [About the Attempts to Pet Socialism to Death] ZYCIE LITERACKIE No 2, 11 January 1981.
10. W. Gielzynski, "Schlastac glasszczacych!" [Slash Those Who Pet!] ZYCIE WARSZAWY 2 February 1981.
11. A. Kolakowski, J. Migasinski, "Iluzoryczne tesknoty" [Illusory Yearnings] LITERATURA 26 February 1981.
12. W. Myslek, "WIELOSwiatopogladowosc" [Pluralism in World Views] ARGUMENTY No 10, 1981.
13. A. Kolakowski, J. Migasinski, op. cit.
14. R. Wojan, "O wiarygodnosc dialogu" [To Make Dialogue Credible] ZYCIE WARSZAWY 2 February 1981.
15. The texts of both letters are in "Chrzescijanin w swiecie" [Christians in the World] 1978 No 2 (February).
16. K. Jakubowski, "Czy wierzacy moga nalezec do partii?" [Can Believers Belong to the Party?] ZYCIE WARSZAWY 2 February 1981.
17. A. Micewski, "Kilka slow o rownouprawnieniu" [A Few Words About Equal Rights] TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY No 5, 1981. A. Werblan's article in question is "Dawne kryzysy i dzisiejsze problemy" [Past Crises and Current Problems] ZYCIE WARSZAWY 13 January 1981.
18. See the recent article by W. Roszewski, "Dialogi owocne i bezowocne" [Fruitful and Barren Dialogues] ARGUMENTY No 5 1981.

19. S. Rainko, "SWIADOMOSC I historia" [Consciousness and History] Czytelnik Publishing House, Warsaw, 1978, p 47.
20. W. Roszewski, op. cit.
21. R. Reiff, "Demokracja polska" [Polish Democracy] ZYCIE I MYSL No 2 1981 pp 58-59.
- 22 W. Myslek, op. cit.
23. W. Myslek, op. cit.

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POLAND

COMPLAINTS AGAINST POLICE ANSWERED

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 21 Apr 81 p 3

[Interview with Col Jozef Oleksy, Deputy Commander of Opole Voivodship Mo, for Militia Service Affairs, by Andrzej Mach]; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] A militia—or police (the name matters little)—has to exist in any political system. On the other hand, the services of public order enjoy no great affection by the society anywhere in the world. This manifests itself especially during periods of tension. Such a situation exists at present in Poland. Our interview should therefore elucidate many matters due to which the atmosphere surrounding the militia has become rather heavy.

[Answer] We have nothing to hide, although—for obvious reasons—every government service of this type has its professional secrets. However, in my opinion, we cannot proceed here mathematically and reduce the whole militia to a common denominator. It is being commonly said: "militia—this," "militia—that." After all, behind each fact stand definite persons. Meanwhile, it is not being said that the error in the militia craft was committed by Sergeant Jaworski, Lieutenant Kowalski, or Colonel Oleksy. It is generalized, blaming the entire militia, in which—as in a factory—bad workers happen to occur, but the majority consists, after all, of honest people who straightforwardly perform their duties.

[Question] The comparison of factory and militia seems to me awkward in that if a factory has produced a defective product we are faced with a material loss. In your case, man suffers, and every society is extremely sensitive to this sort of phenomenon. Recently there were several such events in our voivodship, for example, in Baborow.

[Answer] This case will be stated fully when the right moment comes. But the truth is that I was first to learn about it, I informed the public prosecutor and immediately came to the conclusion that the representative of "Solidarity" from the sugar refinery in Baborow should participate in the autopsy of the dead man. Therefore, it is not true that we did not wish to give the public information on the matter. The court will take a decision regarding the guilt of former sergeant Zbigniew Stepien.

[Question] Exactly! That's just the point, that it is now "a former sergeant." For, is it moral that before the verdict of the court, which after all can acquit



him, the man be expelled from the militia? This might be for statistical purposes. Stepien will appear in court as a civilian and will figure in the column: "condemned militiamen."

[Answer] These are two different cases. The court will decide whether Stepien is in fact guilty of the man's death. The fact of his dismissal from the militia was occasioned by different premises. Stepien was guilty—already proved—of misuse of authority. The question is, for example, of the manner of the detention of the suspect. For this alone—even without further consequences—he would be removed by disciplinary action from the militia.

[Question] Maybe. However, in the case of the mistreatment of children, which was tried before the court in Strzelce, two functionaries were convicted. Nevertheless, they continue to work. Where is here consistency?

[Answer] They were sentenced to 1 1/2 years of imprisonment by a still appealable judgment of the court of first instance. After the judgment becomes final we will take a decision.

[Question] Not to go back to isolated cases—even though they agitate public opinion—let us turn to the case of the Opole students.

[Answer] The case was described in the TRYBUNA OPOLSKA, though perhaps not with sufficient precision. The author, for example, could try to read the entry in the Sobering Room register. The physician on duty notes there the state in which the intoxicated were brought in by the functionaries. It is a fact that at the Opole railroad station the militia had to intervene and that truncheons were used. I have a definite opinion in this matter. A prosecutor's investigation is in process in this case. After its conclusion the prosecutor's office of the voivodship will no doubt issue an objective statement to the press on its results.

[Question] Notorious also was the case of the road accident in Nysa caused by a second lieutenant of the Traffic Service, or more properly its consequences. The case is tragic for it ended in the suicide of the 38 year-old militia officer.

[Question] Second LT Antoni Tomczyk caused an accident as a result of which a woman received injuries that necessitated several days of absence from work. Because of that he was faced with a severe disciplinary procedure and his driving license was taken away. I shall add that he was a man of irreproachable reputation and very high morals. The accident has caused him deep shock, as is seen from a letter he left.

[Question] In addressing the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee, the minister of internal affairs, General Milewski spoke of the growing danger to the country, from an ever-increasing number of crimes, especially those most harmful socially: murders, banditry, robbery by assault. From data available to us, it follows that a similar situation also prevails in our voivodship. Moreover, from talks with rank-and-file militia functionaries we learned that they abstain from

intervening. They seem to be afraid of consequences, explanations, of being accused of having used their truncheons without use.

[Answer] We do not have this sort of complaint. The number of crimes you spoke about is in fact on the increase in our voivodship. Such a number of robberies by assault and banditry were not noted for more than 15 years. This is, in my opinion, a result of social demoralization, a decline of discipline and not of dilatory action by the militia. Anyway, the perpetrators of these crimes are on the whole quickly detected by us. I know that the efficiency of the militia is not measured by statistics but in point of fact detectability of crime does not decline at all. However, their number and especially character is alarming. Exceptional aggressiveness and brutality by perpetrators is observed. Besides, despite a wave of criticism aimed at us, this detection takes place with very great cooperation from our society. Incidentally, it is encouraging that discipline in working places has improved. We cannot negate here the positive role of Solidarity." Disregarding attacks against the militia, known if only from street placards, "Solidarity" fulfills an essential function in the enterprises, among others, in combating thriftlessness and intemperance.

[Question] The much publicized fight against alcoholism is conducted with little consistency. By half-measures. For example, limiting this problem to the framework of our interview, by putting drunkards under arrest. By what right? After all, these persons are sick. Anyway, they are not criminals.

[Answer] Last year (apart from the "Sobering Rooms" which function in Opole and Kedzierzyn-Kozle) 3,486 drunk persons were detained, mainly to prevent wrangles at home and brawls in public places. Certainly it would be better to let them stay in sobering rooms, but such a unit cannot exist in every town. In any case, we cannot afford it for the time being.

[Question] Do you take into account that such a drunk, collected from the street, may die under arrest? Even when his death would be caused simply by the effects of drink, the rumor might lay the responsibility for it on the militia?

[Answer] That is a problem. Drunkards must be isolated. For the sake of their families, maintenance of public order and to prevent them from becoming victims of criminals. Certainly, it would be better that in each such case they could be examined by a physician. Whenever possible we proceed that way, but numerical limitations of the health service do not allow us to make it a rule.

[Question] All professions have as a rule the right to err. The treatment of an error committed by a locksmith or physician is very different (much more severely) as regards public opinion reacting to an error in a militia proceeding. Meanwhile, a popular view of the militia, which is not at all isolated, is that the militiamen enjoy impunity.

[Answer] This is one of many myths. During the past 12 months our functionaries intervened 32,298 times at the request of citizens. As a result of this, we received 252 complaints against them about their actions. In 21 cases these complaints were justified, and 7 functionaries were dismissed from service disciplinarily. (Incidentally, in 1979 there were 14 such cases. One should

only try to realize how severe such a punishment is. When someone is disciplinarily dismissed from a work place, he usually goes to another enterprise and often gets less pay. But when, let us say, after 10 years, a militiaman is eliminated, he must begin everything anew. Lesser disciplinary punishments likewise entail considerable consequences. After a reprimand, for example, the militiaman cannot be decorated, promoted or rewarded. We cleanse ourselves of men who are not fit to work in the militia.

[Question] Nevertheless, the people aspire to working in the militia. They are impressed by power and attracted by good pay.

[Answer] If it were so, we would not have so many vacant positions, especially in most difficult services, i.e., traffic controllers and uniformed militiamen doing guard or patrol duty. As to wages... A person with secondary education starting in the profession receives 6,030 zlotys; an officer in charge of a city district and a minimum of 5 years of service, 7,100; a chief of the most difficult (criminal) department, with the rank of Lieutenant colonel, and 27 years of service in the militia receives 10,700 zlotys. All this, of course, with unscheduled service times and with frequent transfers. These are good wages, but not extraordinarily high as they usually are supposed to be.

[Question] There still remains a feeling of power.

[Answer] In actual fact, a militiaman holds quite great power. He can identify, search, detain until clarification. He has a truncheon, a gas thrower, a gun. He also can fine you. It is quite obvious that to resist temptations which are thus provided requires corresponding traits of character. Before admission to the militia many-sided tests, including psychological ones, are carried out but all faults cannot be eliminated. There is no perfect method for this anywhere in the world. Therefore, painful accidents occur. As I have already mentioned earlier, as a consequence of a fault committed by a corporal, sergeant, lieutenant or colonel the reputation of the entire militia suffers. That, however, probably cannot be avoided.

[Question] But it should be possible to avoid suspicions that militiamen are using fines for profit by pocketing the money.

[Answer] The warrant of penalty--popularly called mandate--is a pecuniary fine which is rather high, up to 1,000 zlotys. The militiaman must in the first place explain to a citizen why he is being fined. Secondly, he must inform the citizen that there are the following possibilities: payment on the spot, acceptance of the credit mandate, or refusal to pay. In the latter event, the case goes to the body having jurisdiction for offenses against regulations. The credit mandate is paid to the account of the town or gmina [rural parish]. Money obtained by militiamen, when the person fined decides to pay right away, is also paid to the account of the town or gmina. The functionary, and the militia as such, benefit nothing. Indeed, it would probably be better to give up the collection of fines by functionaries. In that case, however, the regulations would have to be amended. And this surely would put a stop to all kinds of gossip.

[Question] There would also be less gossip if the public were immediately informed about all occurrences within the sphere of action of the militia. Meanwhile access to information is often restrained, and therefore the people create their own versions of events which not infrequently greatly depart from the truth.

[Answer] Does TRYBUNA OPOLSKA experience such difficulties?

[Question] Sometimes yes. One is told that "it is not yet time," because of "the interest of investigation." Because of such concealment or by publishing facts with a delay, we become less credible and you do not gain sympathy. Throughout the whole world the press reports immediately and somehow that does not hinder the police.

[Answer] Does this, in our case, relate only to militia affairs? Didn't until recently the so-called mass media publish only what was convenient. It is otherwise at present, and in my opinion, nothing stands in the way of readers being immediately informed about what we are doing. Even about our mistakes.

[Interviewer] I thank you for the interview and take note that this last statement expresses the official attitude of the Voivodship Militia Command.

1015

CSO: 2600/209



## IMPORTANCE OF CAREER MILITARY PERSONNEL STRESSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 9, 1 Mar 81 p 14

[Article: "Core of the Military"]

[Text] The most important part of every army is its career personnel which is the core of the military. Soldiers in the basic [conscript] service come and go but professional soldiers are the permanent element of the armed forces: they lead, educate, train, exploit military technology, direct the army's administration and are responsible for the army's ability to defend the country.

The role of career military personnel is particularly important in modern armies because of a rapid development of military science and technology. Demands made by continuous progress may only be met by a professional soldier, a high-level specialist, who is properly educated and continuously improving his skills. There are also other reasons why it is usually said that the career personnel determines the character, face and strength of the army. The ideological and political character of the military depends mainly on the career personnel.

Because of this particular position of career personnel in the life of the military and its overwhelming influence on the quality of the army, the problem of the cadre in the Polish People's Army from the first moment of its existence was of primary interest to not only the leadership of the Army but also the Party and people's authorities.

Decisions taken by the party during the period of the struggle with Hitlerite occupation were one of the first manifestations of this interest. The slogan "There will be no democratic Poland without a democratic army and democratic officer corps" was put forward during the party conference in November, 1944. The Polish Workers' Party implementing this slogan took the initiative to send 10,000 worker volunteers to officer schools. A decision was also made to send several hundred Polish Workers' Party members to political indoctrination officer schools.

This workers' induction strengthened the people's character of the new army, including its cadre. In the following years, the military schools were open also mainly for working and peasant class youth, for example: in 1949, sons of workers comprised over 60 percent of the cadets, and sons of peasants, over 32 percent.

Worker-peasant background of our army cadre is combined with increasingly better professional preparation which is based on both general and specialist education. This is particularly true of the officer cadre which became a leading unit of the Polish intelligentsia.

This process was long and difficult. In the years when it was necessary to fight the enemy, deep patriotism and sacrifice most frequently had to suffice. The officers' stars were won after several or even a few months training in schools that today would be regarded as instruction courses and which preceded a march to the front. Contemporary cadre problems were solved through Soviet help, the assignment of Soviet officers and noncommissioned officers of Polish origin to Polish military units and the opportunity for the education of Poles in Soviet military schools.

Beginning in 1944, our own military schools were organized in liberated territories. But even then, sincere willingness was more important than education. Only in 1955, the level of development of military education was such that officer schools with technical orientation received a right to award a technical diploma to their graduates. Three years later, only high school graduates began to be admitted to officer schools.

As a result of further development of military education, in 1967, officer schools obtained a status of higher professional schools, and its graduates, in addition to officer ranks, receive a title of engineer in their specialties.

As a result of this battle for knowledge, presently about 70 percent of the officers possess higher education, and one-third of them, a higher academic education. The quality of education also increased.

Another feature of our military cadre is their deep patriotism and dedication to socialism. It results from the understanding that only a socialist Poland, in an alliance with the Soviet Union and other members of the Warsaw Pact, only such a Poland may be an independent country with secure borders.

The career personnel of the Polish Army declares its affection for socialist Poland not only verbally but also practically. Aside from fulfilling its basic military duty, at the same time, it participates in the economic, scientific-technological, cultural and social life of the country and add significant and permanent values to our common heritage.

The career personnel of the Polish People's Army is divided into three corps: officers, warrant officers and noncommissioned officers. This division is suitable to the structure and needs of the armed forces.

The officer corps includes junior officers (from second lieutenant to captain), senior officers (from major to colonel) and generals. Officers carry out duties and tasks connected with education and training of soldiers, development of military discipline, exploitation of military technology, organization and conduct of battle: they are mainly responsible for high combat readiness of our armed forces. The contemporary officer is a highly qualified commander, a specialist

in a particular technology, an expert of military hardware, teacher and social activist. Such an officer cadre is trained in higher officer schools and military academies.

Warrant officers are the middle-level commanders and specialists. They are educated in warrant-officer schools.

Professional noncommissioned officers are the immediate superior officers, trainers and instructors of soldiers in the basic service. They are the commanders and deputy commanders of platoons, chiefs of companies, logistics officers, weapons specialists, etc. They are educated in professional noncommissioned officer schools.

Division of the cadre into corps does not mean that impassable barriers exist between particular corps. An outstanding noncommissioned officer, after acquiring proper qualifications, may be promoted to a rank of warrant officer. Similarly, a warrant officer does not have a closed door to officers' ranks.

#### I Will Have a General Friend

Since I did not ask Captain B. for permission to describe him in a newspaper article, I can not reveal his name. So let's call him simply Captain.

I have known the Captain since the day when as a graduate of the Wroclaw Higher Officer School of Mechanized Troops, he was appointed to his first officer rank. I witnessed the occasion with his father, a former frontline officer of the Tadeusz Kosciuszko 1st Infantry Division. On this occasion, his father put on his reservist uniform and a hat with a yellow rim; he was supposed to speak during the promotion ceremony but when he saw his officer son, he became so choked up, he could not utter a sound.

I wrote in my notebook: "Newly-promoted 2nd Lt B. seems to know what he wants. He graduated with distinction and so, he had a right to choose the location of his officer service. He did not try to settle down in some general staff but asked to be sent to a line unit in a provincial garrison because, as he says, he wants to place himself in the main current of military life."

Three years later, passing through the provincial garrison, I looked up my officer-friend. He was already a 1st lieutenant and led a company in a mechanized regiment. I was slightly surprised that such a "youngster" is already a company commander. It was explained by the unit commander: "He turned out well. Though he is only a "pistolet" (as they called junior officers in the army), he manages as well as experienced officers and certainly is superior to them in enthusiasm and initiative. He has been a company commander for a year already. We have high hopes for him...."

A year later I met 1st Lt B. on the firing range. He was participating in a demonstration exercise for senior officers, and his company was supposed to carry out a particularly difficult assignment. I forgot what the lieutenant's role was but I remember that, at some point, one of the observers almost yelled: "What is this

lieutenant doing?" 1st Lt B. was conducting some maneuver which at first surprised and upset some observers but later was judged to be innovative.

I suspect that this exercise had some influence on a decision to invest in him. A short time later, he called to invite me to a meeting at the General Staff Academy where he just began studying. He graduated recently and came back to the parent regiment to the position of a battalion commander, I think.

I think that, for the Captain, the road is open to subsequent higher ranks and positions which confront every talented and ambitious officer. I am even hoping that, in the future, I will have a general-friend.

9031

CSO: 2600/198



IMIGRATION OF SERBS FROM KOSOVO PROVINCE RESEARCHED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1176, 19 May 81 pp 14-15

[Article by Stevan Zec: "House for Sale"]

[Text] Many people come to the office of Blagoje Popovic, director of Promet-servis in Kosovo Polje, on business that has to do with community affairs and municipal services. Blagoje Pop, as they call him, is also president of the 16th Local Community of Pristina Opstina Assembly, which is the administrative appellation of Kosovo Polje. We talked for a long time about the imigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

"Well, there has been some," Blagoje Popovic said.

The conversation was in two parts: the off-the-record part and the official part for the newspaper. Even such an experienced sociopolitical figure and long-time business executive and party member as Popovic will not speak openly on this topic.

"Write that Kosovo Polje is an industrial region, a suburb of Pristina and a railroad junction, and that sums up the reasons why people come here or move away. After all, there is also imigration from the province as a whole, and indeed even from Macedonia and Montenegro. To be sure, Albanians are moving in more and more, and mostly the Serbs and Montenegrins are moving away. The reason? Don't ask me, ask the people who are leaving. I can only say that no one has put pressure on me to go, no one has threatened me, no one has mistreated my children. To be sure, many Albanians have asked me whether I wanted to sell my house, but nothing more. They ask, and I reply that I don't. My mother-in-law, who is an old woman, was very frightened after those demonstrations and made it known through certain people that she was selling her house. Her house is next to mine, and when an Albanian came to ask the price, I went out and said: She's an old woman, she doesn't know herself what she wants, and if she really wanted to sell the house, then I would buy it, since the two lots are side by side. The Albanian said: Fine, Pop, excuse me, I didn't know she was your mother-in-law."

Blagoje Popovic has worries not only as the president of the local community, but also as director of the enterprise. We were present when Milaim Hajdari of

No 161 Z. Koriku Street in Urosevac came into his secretary's office. He brought a petition in which he called upon the workers' council of Promet-servis to move out of his house the general store it operates there, since he had found another company he wanted to rent the store to. He loudly demanded that his case be settled urgently and that this was the fourth time in a week that he had insisted that the Promet-servis store move out. This is not the only such demand which has reached the enterprise whose director is Blagoje Popovic.

We asked Popovic about vandalism in the Orthodox cemetery in the village of Bresje, where someone broke 35 gravestones on the night between 29 and 30 April. This cemetery is located only 500 meters from director Popovic's office.

"That is not in my local community, that is another local community of which Vlastimir Mitrovic is president. Ask him about that."

#### The Opstina Will Set Everything Right

Vlastimir Mitrovic, president of the 17th Local Community of Pristina Opstina, which covers the territory of the villages Bresje and Ugljar, led us to the cemetery after a bit of explanation and showed us "Official Records of the Inquiry Made Into the Desecration of Gravestones." The inquiry was conducted by a five-member commission at noon on 4 May of this year. It ascertained the damage and "adopted the opinion that the gravestones could be repaired only by a specialized work organization because of the specific nature of the work." The Pristina Opstina Assembly would pay for all the work. It has not yet been settled when the work will begin.

Who broke the gravestones in Bresje? An investigation is under way. It is clear that the gravestones were not struck with a hammer, nor with any similar object, but were forcefully tipped over. Twelve stones were broken when they fell (mainly crosses which protruded). A family of Gypsies lives immediately alongside the cemetery. They were asked if they had heard a ruckus during the night between 29 and 30 April.

"No, we didn't," said the man of the house. "And if I had heard, I would not dare to go out in the darkness."

It would be untrue to say that this event was received without excitement in Bresje, Kosovo Polje and indeed even in Pristina. Because of this case police patrols are making more frequent visits to the cemetery in Pristina and probably in other Kosovo towns as well.

In further pursuing the atmosphere in which people are living here at the moment, our path led us to Krajinovic Brothers Street in Kosovo Polje. In front of Nos 39, 40 and 40a we saw signs reading "House for Sale."

We went into the yard. Milusa Maslovaric was weeding the garden and digging around the strawberries.

"Are you selling your house, old woman? How much?"

"I was offered 200 million just yesterday, so help me."

"But we are not customers, but newsmen."

"Too bad, I have been so sad, and it cheered me up thinking that customers had come," old Milusa said.

Bit by bit old Milusa and her husband Momcilo acknowledged that the most they had been offered was 100 and a few million, and one customer had said: You had better take it, since later you will give it away for nothing.

But why are the Maslovarices selling their house and large garden and orchard when it is located here in a large town?

"What am I going to do? The children have gone off, all my people have sold their farms. Our old neighbors have moved away, and new ones have moved in. You don't think I'm going to stay here for reseeding? And then my old man is sick, poor thing, look at him, he can hardly walk."

To be sure, old Momcilo, Milusa's husband, is walking with a cane. And in a moment the neighbors have gathered in the Maslovarices' yard. They are all whispering: They aren't customers, but newsmen.

"So, are you going to write down why I am selling my house? To write down the real truth? I will tell it, but do you dare to write it?" one old man asked.

"We do dare to write it, but what is your name?"

"Ah, if it is a question of names, that's not important. I am not afraid of either the emperor or the vizier, but don't ask me my name...."

And the old man tells all kinds of things, but he won't say his name. Perhaps what he said was the truth, but the agreement in the office was this: Every statement has to have a "first and last name"; otherwise the material goes in the editor's wastebasket. And Kosovo Polje is full of informants like this old man. They all want to talk, but no one will say his name.

There is a commotion in the yard. Three men are passing in the street. One is wearing a white Albanian skullcap on his head. The conversation broke off as though someone had turned the dial on a radio. The passers-by greeted people out loud. There was an answering greeting from the yard. But some were said under the breath.

"You go, young man, to Serbia near Smederevo and Obrenovac and ask those who have already moved away, who went before us, ask them why they left. They are not afraid to say," old Milusa said.

And we did what she said.

## Through the Corn on a Bicycle

Unka is on the Sava between Belgrade and Obrenovac. We asked questions in the local community: Are there any people who have moved from Kosovo?

"Who are you looking for? There are at least 50 or 60 families. There are Montenegrins, people from Lika, Bosnians, Hercegovinians...."

"But we are looking for people who have moved here from Kosovo...."

"Yes, yes, they have all come from Kosovo."

And that is the first truth: Those who have moved out of Kosovo are mainly those whose ancestors settled there in 1912, 1919 and 1945.

They sent us from the local community in Unka to Mirko Scepanovic at 14 Tesla Street. They said that he was the first to come here from Kosovo. We found old Mirko.

"Me? Yes, I was one of the first. Actually, after the war I never went back to Kosovo. In 1941 they had killed two brothers of mine there, I heard that the people who killed my brothers were still alive, and what was I to do there? To seek blood revenge? I have five children, I would go to prison, and the children would be on the street. So I gathered my things and came here. Later whoever came from Kosovo would come right to my place. I was like a kind of embassy for people from Kosovo. The house even resembles the Billiard Room [a room by that name in the castle of the former Montenegrin monarchy in Cetinje--translator's note]. Just look at how it is placed."

We asked who was the "freshest," who was the last to move from Kosovo?

"Svetozar Mirilovic came last fall from Donja Dubnica near Podujevo. That is a place settled by people from Lika in 1922. They build exactly 450 houses where there had been nothing. I even went to school in that village," Mirko Scepanovic relates and takes us to Mirilovic, who lives in the neighborhood.

Svetozar, the man of the house, was picking over dried beans when we found him.

"That's how it is, when I lived in Kosovo I didn't even make coffee, and now I even make lunch," Svetozar said, as if to justify himself.

"There is no farming here. I was disabled by a work accident, my pension is small, and I have three young children in school: two sons and a daughter. So my wife had to get a job. She works in the foundry at FOB, doing physical labor. I heard what Draza Markovic said about even the peasants moving out of Kosovo, though they are the least mobile, since they are tied to their land. That was well put, but as far as I am concerned personally, it was late. I got rid of my property, sold my fields and house and bought this which used to be a weekend cottage for someone from Belgrade."



"Why did you move?"

"Albanians are now living in Donja Dubnica, where the Serbs once lived. There remain some 10 Serbian houses or so. My uncles and my brothers left before me. I am no chauvinist, but why should I live in a neighborhood which has different customs, which speaks a different language, and which does many things differently from the way I do. Nor am I meek as a lamb, arguments get started over a trifle, I have a quick temper, and that means trouble."

"Did anyone threaten you? Were you driven out?"

"No. I was not. I did have one conflict on an ethnic basis, as they say, some 3 or 4 years ago, and since that time I knew that one should keep quiet and go away. Or take it. It was like this: We were hoeing the corn, my wife, daughter and I. An Albanian from the village Laus came riding a bicycle through my field right over that low corn. 'What are you doing?' I asked him. 'This is the path,' he said. 'What do you mean path, this is my corn.' It wasn't the path, it was the path, and I lifted my hoe: 'Stop right there! Back up! You won't go through my corn!' He pulled out a pistol and shoved the barrel under my nose. We argued, but he had the cooler head, he gave up and went back on the right road on his bicycle. The next day I found him in the middle of the village and put my pistol under his nose. 'You see,' I said, 'I also have a pistol.' People separated us. So, you see: That is the way it was, why lie about it? Later they began to come and ask if I was selling my house. They asked once, the fifth time, the fiftieth time, and at one point I said: Yes, I am. I saw that the Albanians were dominant in the village, and whoever owns the sheep, the meadow is his."

"Who did you sell to, and for how much?"

"To a peasant, an Albanian, Alija Jakoli from Gornja Dubnica for 119 million old dinars. I had 3.5 hectares of fertile land, seven-tenths of a hectare of proper orchard, a house built in 1950, which was 12 meters by 6 meters in an L-shape, and another 5 buildings and stable. There was water and electricity both in the house and in the stable. I even had a bathroom in the house. Alija Jakoli paid me in installments, but I didn't let him move in until he had paid everything. I have a certified contract in the courthouse. He paid me honestly, I honestly sold it to him."

"Was that a fair price for your farm?"

"It depends on who it is. For me, it was, since I could not have gotten more. But Alija Jakoli paid me by selling off my land. When a Serb sells to an Albanian, the highest price for land near Podujevo is 10 million old dinars per hectare. But when an Albanian sells to an Albanian, the price is twice as high. Jakoli sold off a part of my land for building lots, and he paid me off with that money. The house and the rest of the land he had for nothing. I know this, I say it, and I would sign a statement to that effect."

"But how can that be?"

"It can, and don't draw me out any further. I am not complaining. I call a spade a spade. Out of those 119 million, I gave 40 to my sister: She is not married, that is her part of the house and her dowry. That left me 79. I bought this unfinished weekend cottage for 64 million and paid for the transfer. I have still not gotten used to it here, I don't like it here. I don't enjoy it the way I did my farm in Dubnica. I would go back to Donja Dubnica if I had anywhere to go. My wife and children will not hear of it. And what will I do, as you see, I am picking over the dried beans. If you would like to drink brandy, I still have some plum brandy from Kosovo."

7045

CSO: 2800/283

'DIFFERENTIATION' SESSION OF KOSOVO PARTY UNIT DESCRIBED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1179, 9 Jun 81 pp 20-21

[Article by Jovan Antonijevic: "Party Members Put to the Test"]

[Text] Obilic, June. Silence in the auditorium. A heavy silence. Unpleasant.

"Come, comrades," the secretary Velimir Djurovic repeats. "Who is going to speak? If you please. Any individual who knows that one of us participated in the hostile demonstrations, let him speak up now."

No one spoke. On the wall of the room where the party meeting of the "Machine Maintenance and Repair" Basic Organization of the League of Communists was being held at the Kosovo Thermal Electric Power Plant in Obilic, behind secretary Djurovic and the trade union president Bedri Pantina, who are conducting this meeting, there are four flags: Albanian, Serbian, Yugoslav and Turkish. Tito's picture has been placed over them in the center.

Of the 75 communists who are members of this organization, 54 are present. No one knows where the other 21 are. They did not appear. Some of them, it is true, are on military exercises, some are on sick leave, but at this meeting the secretariat does not have exact figures.

Even after two opening speeches in Albanian and Serbo-Croatian, in which it was stated that the demonstrators were aware of everything that happened, that they knew the character of the demonstrations and that among the demonstrators there had been workers from the power plant and indeed from their own work unit, including even party members--no one asked for the floor.

Secretary Djurovic called for discussion to begin the third time, in vain.

A scraping of chairs. Many were staring at the floor.

Only Two Names

Only two names were mentioned in the reports: Behram Beka and Bajram Zejnulahu. In Beka's case the secretariat recommends that he be expelled from the LC [League of Communists], since on 2 April he reacted brutally to the general

director's demand that he return to his work station. And Bajram as well, for having spoken lies in the worker caucus.

A hand goes up. Daut Plana asks to speak:

"If no one else will," he says, "I will begin."

He speaks in Albanian. Bedri Pantina keeps the minutes and translates into Serbo-Croatian.

Plana spoke about production, which has been normal, about how party members, when there was unrest, did not go home for 3 days at a time, saying that he agrees that every case of moving away should be studied.

And Ajvaz Jaka raises his hand. He reads from a piece of paper in front of him.

"We were confused by the fierceness of the demonstrations. We did not immediately get our bearings, since we had never experienced anything like that. Our situation, however, is much better now than after the demonstrations."

A full 45 minutes had already passed since the meeting began at 1400 hours on that Tuesday, and still not a word on whether any of the 75 party members of this organization had participated in the demonstrations.

After Jaka silence once again.

"This won't do, comrades," Bedri Pantina said, taking the floor. "Why are we holding back? It is true that some demonstrators came from here. It is true that the demonstrators wanted to stop our production. They did not succeed. We need to speak about this in concrete detail."

Mustafa Pljakic, member of the PK [provincial committee] of the League of Communists of Kosovo, asked for the floor.

"There should be discussion about everything and about everyone. Since differentiation, comrades, is not just a matter of who participated in the demonstrations, but also of who is in conformity with the platform of the LC in the fight against enemies."

"These are not matters of small consequence," Pantina spoke up once again. "If every one of us 75 party members had gone out that day and opposed the demonstrators, it would not have turned out this way. But neither the president nor the secretary were there. There was a breakdown. Only afterward did we collect ourselves."

Secretary Djurovic gave notice that the discussion concerned the proposal for expulsion of Behram Beka from the LC, and about all the rest afterward.

"Well, Comrade Beka is here, let him speak, too."



Behram Beka's face is serious. There is nothing from which one might suspect how he is taking all this. He speaks briefly. In Albanian. He did not explain anything, nor did he even try. He admitted that he "had gone down," but "to defend the power plant." He admitted that he insulted the director.... And that is all.

Sahan Kelmedi speaks of Beka as a good comrade, a man who always carried out the tasks assigned him, he said that he was amazed that he had behaved like that, but he agreed with all the assessments of the secretariat.

Others also spoke about Beka. They were all surprised at his behavior that day, 2 April.

"Behram behaved badly that day," said the general director of the power plant. "And Idriz Ibrahim. If he had just been a bit different, all the workers would have gone back. At least those he was with. That is not done by members of the party. I cannot say that he is an enemy, but certainly there is no place for him among members of the party."

There was not much hesitation. Hands went up, and Behram Beka was expelled from the LC. At first there were only a very few hands up, so that in the first count secretary Djurovic found only 27 votes. Only when he asked for the hands to be held higher did the party members do so.

A vote was immediately taken to send a proposal for expulsion of Bajram Zejnullahu to the primary organization he belongs to. In this case those present were much more resolute, since Bajram was not at the meeting.

In the wordless silence Behram Beka, followed only by the eyes of those present, left the meeting at the secretary's request as soon as the vote was completed.

"Where Were You That Day"

The heavy minutes passed. All the speakers seemed to follow some established pattern. They repeated accounts of events which were quite well known to everyone and stated their concurrence in the positions of the LC.

"This won't do, comrades!" The voice of Mustafa Pljakic was strident and clear. "Are we going to start talking? Why don't we debate now the silence of party members in the worker caucus? You were there, comrades. You heard Bajram Zejnullahu lie. Why did you stay silent? Speak out now."

"I did, I made a mistake," said a worker with a thin mustache in a blue shirt whom Pljakic had directly addressed. "I should have stood up. I wanted to, but, there it is, I didn't. But that won't happen again...."

A new hand went up in the last row. Dusko Ristic:

"We lack sincerity, comrades," he said. "At this point no one knows anything, as if none of all that happened. That day, comrades, I ran. We all ran. And

we all know it. Who concealed the lists of absent workers, I put the question now? No one even mentions that. Some should be expelled not just from the party, but from their jobs. Look here, Zoran's entire group of workers was down there when the demonstrations were going on. All wearing their hard hats. Saban, where were you that day? Where were your workers? The manager and the engineers know everything. And who carried the banners and who led the way?... And we, what are we doing here? Everything is fine, treated with kid gloves, and he was good and honest.... I would not waste much time talking with people like that. We should not show mercy toward them."

Finally, it became more lively. Sali Dzardaku spoke, and then Damjan Radosavljevic, Rajko Dosnic....

"They Ran Toward Me"

Jakup Hasani said that he went to oppose the demonstrators, to negotiate and to convince them not to enter the power plant, but he did not cite a single name. He said that he was not acquainted with them.

"In that case, how is it they didn't beat you?" someone in the room remarked.

"I have something to say, too," Nuhi Rudari spoke up. "That day, 2 April, I started off to bring the people back from the demonstration. Fadilj Hajredini was also there; I don't get along with him. When he saw me, he told the demonstrators to attack me. They ran toward me. I ran away. But I was shaken still more by what happened to me the next day. I was on my job with that same Fadilj. He came up to me and said: 'If I hear that you have said just one word, I'll set fire to your house.' That, comrades, is what happened to me...."

The meeting continued. The words, the truth, the sincere self-criticism were difficult to express. The process of ideological-political differentiation had begun, but it was not going easily or simply.

Mustafa Pljakic again asked for the floor:

"What we have seen here today is real opportunism, vacillation and coverup. We have to rid ourselves of party members like that. In today's debate to evaluate the situation and the causes, you, comrades, have not shown even a trace of responsibility. You are not willing to engage in criticism, in self-criticism, in a true assessment in order to enter the fight. How, then, I ask you, do you intend to work after this?"

Even then no one asked for the floor. People stared in front of them.

"Your task is to say who participated in the demonstrations and who was drawn in," Pljakic continued. "You cannot stay silent when it is known that there were people from your work unit who used pipes [(?) pajseri] to drive individuals and the crowd in general to join them in the demonstrations. Now we have to make a distinction: Who was led astray, and who was the organizer? One worker of this power plant, who in fact is not a member of the party, took a firm stand

on the stairway when the demonstrators wanted to come in, spread out his hands, held to the banister, and refused to let them pass. Find that one! Because there is a place for him here, and not the cowards. Enroll people like that in the LC. And differentiation is not just a matter of your having expelled Behram Beka, but a question of which one of you will be in the front ranks of the struggle for brotherhood and unity and the other achievements of our society? I personally think that this secretariat cannot remain at the head of the party organization. Since it appears that you do not have enough strength to get at the full truth. The shaken relations have, it is true, nevertheless become stable, but that is not enough. You should continue this meeting, then, though it might take 3 days, until you clear this up."

When it was proposed that the meeting be resumed at the same time the next day, all the hands went up. This time more resolutely than at the outset.

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**17 Aug. 1981**